1.

Boston, Sept. 30. 1847.

My dear Mr. Estlin,

Many and most hearty thanks for your letters, which, you may be assured, do not and cannot come faster than they are welcomed & eagerly read. It is to me truly exhilarating to hear from my English and Irish friends. Your letter of Sept. 2d & 3d [by "Britannia", of the 4th] came to hand Sunday morning Sept. 19th. The letter by Mr. Hincks were handed to me on the afternoon of the same day by Wm. H. himself. He arrived Friday 17th. I did not ascertain until Sunday where he was to be found - called at noon, - found him out - left my card - & he, with his son, called at my father's house directly after the afternoon service. I did not see Mrs H., when I was in ~~Lond~~ England; this was our first time of meeting. There is something, in his manner of speaking, not pleasant on first acquaintance; but wh. would undoubtedly wear off in time. I have been, otherwise, (and the exception is not worth naming) very agreeably impressed with our short acquaintance. I have seen him less than I could wish; - having been out of town nearly a week since his arrival, and incessantly occupied when here. I have carried him copies of Liberator & Tickets to Horticultural Exhibition. My father introduced him at the Boston Athenaeum, the best Library ~~in London~~ in New England next to that of Harvard College, having a very complete Reading Room attached; - which I mention to you, Sir, not to get credit for the attentions - for they have as yet only been evidences of good will - but that you may know the facts. Mr. H.

preached last Sunday, I learn, for Dr. Gannett's I was not in the city, but at New Bedford. He has already been busy. He attended the sessions of a Scientific Assoc.n, (whose Annual Meeting occurred in Boston the week after Mr. H.'s arrival here) and acted as reporter for one of the Daily papers, for which he received the sum of $20. This was mentioned to me by my father, who happened to be with Mr. H. when he was called into the neighboring office of the Journal to receive the payment. I was very glad to hear of it, and also to hear that his report was very much commended for its clearness & accuracy.

The Anti-Slavery friends have had a week (or more) of no little anxiety on account of Mr. Garrison's illness at Cleveland, Ohio - some 700 miles from home. You know, of course, that he has been making a "Western Anti-Slavery tour - attending the Annual Meeting of Pennsylvania State Society, then holding meetings at Harrisburg & Pittsburgh (at the former of which, he & Douglas were most scandalously mobbed, and at the latter most enthusiastically welcomed), proceeding next into Ohio, and holding monster meetings there, i.e. frequently having 3000 and, twice, 5000 hearers. All this was kept up from August 4. to - about Sept. 15th, when poor Garrison, previously worn & jaded out, broke down. The Western fever attacked him, a ready subject I believe for all bilious difficulties, and completely prostrated him. For many days, getting no direct information, his family & friends were left in painful suspense. Night before last letters came, on the whole quite encouraging - the substance of which is given in Liberator of this week (bearing Date Oct. 1st); and this morning another came, more favorable still. It was said the fever had entirely left him, and he had

begun to have some appetite for nourishment. We know not how we could bear his loss! But God never leaves himself without witness in the world. — We hope to get Mrs. G. safe home again, in due time, and Wendell Phillips says we must never let him go from home again farther than E. Cambridge (a little town just across Charles River & connected by a bridge with Boston.) — How have you liked the Liberator under E. Quincy's editorship? I have thought his articles most admirable. He will have to continue at the post some weeks longer than he at first anticipated, on account of Mr. G.'s sickness. Speaking of editors, Mr. Hicks did not know who is the Editor of the Inquirer, & and rather thought no regular editor had been appointed. It is manifestly an entirely different paper from what it was in his hands, and I have lost much of the interest I had in receiving & perusing it.

You will see that, after all, F. Douglass has determined to establish a paper and become an Editor. He has put forth the Prospectus (copied into "Standard" of this week); — the paper is to be issued at Cleveland, Ohio. I think he mistakes his vocation, and will regret his course. But he has become persuaded that Ohio presents the grandest & most promising field for antislavery labour of any Northern State; and the recent there immense & spirited meetings strongly attest this. That a great work may be & must be done there, no true abolitionist will question; for, unhappily, all that is true of the entire North. You suppose that I may have drawn up the paper addressed to the English Subscribers to the Douglass testimonial & recommending a different appropriation of the money. — No! that is better than I could do. It was Mr. Garrison's work — done of a Sunday, and when suffering from severe head-ache too. — I am mistaken. ~~Douglass' Paper~~ I have confounded two distinct things. It was the Letter addressed to Mr.

Polk, the President, on his visit to Boston, which was
written under the circumstances named, and which
we thought good enough for a well man. But
the other, as near as I remember it, was distinct &
cogent, and had F. Douglass's entire concurrence
at the time. His paper, the "North Star", will probably
swallow up several others - the A.S. Bugle, and Rams
Horn (N. York), &c. This I do not know, but surmise.

I send you, by a gentleman taking passage in the
Steamship tomorrow, a small parcel containing copies
of a Sermon preached at Cambridge by Samuel J. May, who
requested me to forward them. I have taken the liberty to put
copies for Revd. Messrs. James, Bishop & P.P. Carpenter in the packet
directed to you. Several other gentlemen, Dr. Hutton, George
Thompson, Rev. J. Martineau, Ed. of Inquirer, have copies; all
of which I send under cover to Chapman, London, and I
hope you will receive yours without any expense to yourself.
The gentleman, who obliges me by taking the parcel, is Count
Holinski, a young gentleman (say of 30) who brought a
letter of introduction to me from Mr. Gay, Ed. of Standard,
and in whom I have found a very well-informed and
agreeable person indeed. He has been 2 years in this
country, he says, travelling most of the time; and has
acquired a deep interest in the Antislavery movement.
He has sent to Europe, he told me, quite a large
Antislavery Library, and means to write upon the
subject on his return. He is a Pole by birth, but has
resided mostly at Paris, and is better acquainted
with the French language than with that of Poland.
I called with him, upon Mr. Chapman last evening.
He seemed greatly pleased with her, and she obtained
from him a promise to write a few pages for the
next "Liberty Bell". And that reminds me to
ask yourself and of Mrs. James contributions to this
year's volume, which should be in Mrs. Chapman's hands

2. by 1st Dec. at the very latest. Contributions from any of the Bristol friends wd. be most acceptable, I know. Mr. Armstrong's paper, & Miss Carpenter's "Voice", were valuable additions last year.

I made you a promise, My Dear Sir, which I have not fulfilled, and I must cry, peccavi; but I didn't know, when I made it, the additional labor which Mr. Garrison's absence wd. put upon me. This is the reason that I did not send you, by 1st Sept. Steamship, certain minutes relative to your "Brief Notice" wh. you requested. I shall not forget it; but moments of leisure, or even of ability to go out of the track of every day business, seem not to be at hand immediately; and then I am not a very systematic worker, to my sorrow. —

My letter to Mr. Armstrong, respecting Dr. Parkman and others, has been copied into "Liberator", "Standard" & "Christian World". The Chr. Register, so far as I know, has taken no notice of it whatever. Strange to say, I have not once fallen in with Dr. Parkman since ~~writing~~ its publication. I have been daily (when in Boston) in the most public streets, too, and very frequently in the Bookstores where Unit. parsons most do congregate. He has been passing the summer at Lynn, 10 mls. from the City. I lately heard of his proclaiming aloud, in one of the Railroad Cars, on this fashion - "I never was more surprised than at the manner in which our invitation to our English brethren was received; I wrote that invitation myself, and took pains to exclude from it everything of a nature likely to lead to a difference of opinion - Slavery was not so much as mentioned in it. But the fact is that all the difficulty between us & our English friends has been caused by Rev. Mr. May of Boston," &c. &c. The "blind leader of the blind" cannot - for he will not - see that it is his own faithlessness and worldliness & heartlessness which have

compelled other men, sorely against all their personal inclinations and in opposition to all their former practice, to lift up their voices, according to their ability, in behalf of justice and righteousness and against a timid, base compliance with sin and wrong which language has no power to set forth adequately. I have received, from many quarters, assurances of approval of my letter concerning Dr. Parkman. Many have expressed their great surprise at learning the facts I recited, though knowing he had always been inactive, as to any opposition to Slavery. But all I wrote of him I knew ~~from~~ of my own personal knowledge; and might have added more, ~~from~~ on the same authority, and on that of other & very credible witnesses. And this denomination, at large, deserve to suffer some reproach for allowing him to be put forward, on all public occasions, as representative, or presiding officer. This is well known to be managed by certain Boston men; but a stand against it ought to have been made long ago, and might have been successfully made, but - it was not to be! In a week or two the annual autumnal ~~gathering~~ Convention of Unitarians is to be held at Salem, 15 ms. from Boston. We shall see what they will do, and what they will say.

And what shall I say of Mr. Tagart's Note, which you sent for my reading! What a strange mind ~~for~~ Mr. T.'s must be not to be ashamed of such sentiments! "We are too weak & few" he virtually says "to make a stand against wrong & sin! being weak & few, we had better ally ourselves to time-servers & wrong-doers & worldlings, and get & keep the strength (!) they can give, than create any gulf of separation between us! lest "the Romans shd. come & take away our place & nation". - Out upon such worldly policy, say I. It is very clear why Mr. Tagart would

say, No Union with Slaveholders. He loves the thing; at least, has no moral objection to it, and welcomes the strength thus gained! And such a man is a popular and an applauded teacher of Christian truth & righteousness! Popular with the world, & applauded by those who love to be at ease in their Zion! He is welcome to all the strength, & comfort, and peace of conscience, he can obtain from countenancing, upholding, and having fellowship with menstealers and slave-owners. - And how ready he is to be gulled by such talk as that of Mr. Clapp & N. Orleans, and W. G. Eliot of St. Louis. - Had Mr. Tagart been a man, he would have told Eliot, on the other hand, that, if the price of closer union between British & Amn. Unitarians was that the former should be dumb as to the wrongs inflicted on three million men in slavery, & the peculiar sin of winking at, and participation in, those wrongs, it was a price no British Unitarian would, as no honest man could, pay. Slaveholders and their apologists & allies invariably menace. Such, it seems, was Mr. Eliot's tone to Mr. Tagart, though doubtless conveyed in soft words - for Mr. Eliot is a man who knows how to speak very softly. But Mr. Eliot has been a Slaveowner! this was admitted, last May, in public meeting, by Rev. J. F. Clarke, one of his most intimate friends. It was a case, indeed, in which as little fault attached to the holder of human property, as perhaps can attach in that relation. An elderly colored woman, a slave, besought Mr. E. to buy her, to save her from being sold away from her home. After much entreaty, he bought her, & held her for some time as his slave. Previous to going to Europe, he rid himself of the connexion, - it was not told how. His fault was in continuing to sustain towards this

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woman the relation of an owner — of suffering her to be his property. He might have executed, & put in her possession, free papers, to protect her in case of any accident occurring to himself. His example kept in countenance every Slaveholder in Missouri, and through out the South. — Rev. Theodore Clapp is a rank pro-slavery man; without doubt a Slaveholder himself. He has long been a resident, & preacher to an immense Congregation, in New Orleans. Hence said, in a Sermon (Sermon!), alluding to some Old Testament record, "Here we see God himself dealing in Slaves." If you can have access to the Volume of Poems, by John Pierpont, you will find this remark of Clapp's quoted & made use of. There are Mr. Fagart's Counsellors!! But, without knowing such facts, — it is not necessary to know them — can not Mr. Fagart see, and feel, in every part of his moral composition, that on this subject of Slavery he is not competent to give Christian counsel, or can be trusted to set forth (however feebly) Christian doctrine, who is not anti the wrong; anti-slavery, not in an empty profession, but by ~~the~~ brave words and manly deeds?

But I am filling my paper too much with one topic, when there are several others I must touch.

I am pleased, & highly gratified, with Dr. Montgomery's Note; and I thank you for sending it. The copy of Dr. M.'s speech, which you sent me so exquisitely ~~copied~~ written, I carried to the Ed. of "Chr. World", who inserted it in his paper of last week, a copy of wh. I send.

In a letter wh. Mr. Armstrong wrote me, by 4th Aug. Ship, was an extract from a letter of Dr. Hutton to Mr. A., an extract I was very glad to get, and, in a private way,

have made considerable use of. I wish Dr. H. wd. speak such things, so that all our american religious public could hear them. — I shall return Dr. H.'s note to you — also Mr. Tagart's. My fingers have itched to show that note about. I have shewed it to no one, but Edmund Quincy. He has got beyond being astonished at any instance of clerical blindness, to call it by no worse a name; but it seemed somewhat unexpected to him that such stuff should come from an Unitarian, and an English Unit". minister. He asked if he could not make some use of it in the article he was then preparing (and Mrs. you will find it a late Liberator) on Eng.d Am. Unit.m & Slavery; - but I told him how it came into my hands, & that no public use cd. be made of it, as he at once saw.

I must just refer to Mr. Eliot's Court, as quoted by Mr. T., about shutting English hearts, homes, & pulpits to those Am.n ministers who are "conscientiously of opinion that the efforts of Abolitionists have tended to rivet the chains of the slave"! What a palpable shifting of the issue is that; by Mr. Tagart, I fear, as well as by Mr. Eliot. No one has ever proposed, or thought of proposing, cessation of ministerial & christian intercourse on that ground. No abolitionist has ever said to the clergy, You must come, & stand pat here, with us, or suffer our denunciation. But they have said, as you know, Sir, Act and Speak, as professed Ministers of Jesus Christ should act & speak on this subject, and hold no parley with a temporal policy, and a party expediency. Remember those who are in bonds, as yourselves bound with them; as you yourselves would wish to be remembered, were you & your children pining & groaning in that bondage. It is for refusing to do this, and for

Sympathising with, apologising for, exchanging religious fellowship with, the stealers of men and the holders of Slaves, that we say they are not proper persons to be acknowledged as Christians, and not because they decline identifying themselves with us, & refuse to accept all our positions. Albeit we might conclude, from the very feeble opposition, generally short-lived, of those who war against Slavery, aside from the sound of uncompromising Abolitionists, that our position ~~is~~ is essentially the correct one, and that, on a near, much, every man must stand, who would do effectual battle against this grim monster. Who has ever heard the Abolitionists quarrel with or denounce Wm. H. Furness, John Weiss, Caleb Stetson, & others because they wd. not join the A. S. Societies, & accept all their Doctrines? No one. Those rebukes & censures — thank God that we see they have reached the sore spot and are felt — are reserved for such men as Parkman, Putnam, Dewey and Theo. Clapp, and all of their stamp; but they particularly, as conspicuous in their enmity to all Anti-Slavery action. — Mr. Eliot and Mr. Sagart cannot dodge their responsibility, by raising a dust of their own. Only very simple persons can be deceived by such tricks. Dear Sir! I speak plainly, — you may think harshly. But my Soul loathes this double-dealing, this Sectarian policy, this willing Conception to arrogant demand from men who uphold, by word, by example, the "vilest system of oppression the Sun ever saw"!

"Oh! my soul, come not thou into their secret; to their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united". Better is contest, & trouble, and obloquy, with a good conscience, and a sense of God's favour, than all the peace and union, evangelical or heretical, which can come from timid or selfish surrender to the demands of sin. — How many English ministers will Mr. Elliot whip in to Slavery's pack?

With your remarks about Mrs. Ware I quite coincide. Nothing is to be hoped for, from that quarter. This Slavery-question is a powerful sifter & discerner of the thoughts & intents of the heart.

I should say that Mr. Hinks has not yet paid me the £1.. of which you spoke. I have ordered the papers sent, as you directed — viz. the "Liberator" to Wm. Browne Esq^r. Bridgwater; and the "Standard" to Dr. Montgomery, Dunmurry near Lisburn, and Mr. Armstrong. I will mention the matter to Mr. Hinks.

I am sorry about the probable non-appearance of Douglas's Narrative in French. Are ye think it wd. be readily caught at by a Paris publisher. I think this aforesaid Count Holinski would give aid in the matter. He goes directly to Paris, and means, he told me, to take some pains to correct the ignorance & errors of the French about Amⁿ Slavery. I think him well-informed & truly interested in the cause. He has been ~~long~~ known, convivially, to our N.Y. Anti-Slavery friends; and I trust will prove a helper of our cause.

I forward to you the only Liberator which, as I understand, you have not got - of May 28th, I think it is.

Ms. B. I. 6 v. 2, p. 58

Friday October 1st.

And now, a few words in conclusion, and this must be in the "Britannia"'s mailbag. - Speaking of ships, Mr. Hicks had a delightful passage, he told me, in one of Train's packet-line, the "Ocean-Monarch", coming in 23 days.

The proposed "Reply" to the Boston invitation I like very much. I wish it could be more largely signed; but truth, more than numbers, is what we need.

James Haughton wrote me (by last Ship) that Dr. Hutton told him, & wished him to assure me, that had his (Dr. H.'s) advice been to said Invitation to be written again "it would be couched in far different terms"! And I was glad to see that Dr. Montgomery, in his Speech, intimated something of the same sort. I hope you laymen will come up well to the work. Miss Carpenter writes me of her disappointment that the names of women were excluded. I really wish we might have them also. Please present my thanks to Miss C. for her last note. I am astonished that she had not rec'd. any copies of the Am'n. Edition of her book. Crosby said he would send them by the 1st of July Ships; I will see that the matter is not longer neglected, and endeavour that her request for some additional copies be complied with.

Some stir, in the locale, has been made here about the reply to the English Bridgwater letter. It was no great affair, as originally drawn up (said to be by Lt. Gov. John Reed, a native of B., in Mass.), but an interpolation, made by 2 ministers of B., one Unit'n, one Orthodox, to the effect that the great majority of people at the North were strongly opposed to longer continuance of the Slave-System, has much weakened it and thrown a shadow of doubt over the whole. You will notice E Tenney's article about it.

H. C. Wright is at home again - after about 5 years' absence. I was at Leicester when he arrived - he went the next day to Phil'a. So that I have not yet seen him; but expect him here again next week.

I intended to have given you a full account of the recent emancipation, by will, of 66 Slaves. They came to Boston from near Richmond, Va., bringing a letter to Wm. Garrison, - and I have had the principal charge of providing situations for them, in town & country. It has been a work of occupying more time than I had any anticipation would be the case. You will see some notice of them in a recent "Liberator".

If the postage is not prepaid on this, it will be owing to a new regulation of Post Office here, of which I have heard some intimation.

With sincere respects to your daughter, and to all my Bristol friends, I am, Affectionately Yours
Sam'l. May Jr.